

PRIMITIVE MAN

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PRIMITIVE MAN

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THE CULTURAL POSITION OF THE SPANISH RIVER INDIANS

REGINA FLANNERY

The Catholic University of America

LITTLE has been published on the Indians of Manitoulin Island and the North Shore of Lake Huron. I made a short reconnaissance visit of several weeks duration in August 1939 to Manitoulin Island and the two reserves on the mainland at Spanish River and at Blind River, with the particular object of seeing the culture of the region in relation to that of both the nearby Ojibwa of Parry Island and the Northern Algonquian of James Bay. The bulk of the material was obtained from the Indians of the Spanish River region whom I shall designate as North Shore Ojibwa.¹ Less extensive information was gathered

¹ This designation is only tentative. The very confused linguistic situation in this and adjoining areas is being investigated by Dr. James E. Geary and Dr. Carl Voegelin.

My informants, to whom I am very grateful, are:

William Toulouse, 82 years of age, of the reserve on Spanish River. His mother was an Ojibwa from near Kilarney. As a young man he worked for the Hudson's Bay Co. at the former Lake LaCloche Post. His son is the present chief.

Davey John, of the same reserve, gave his age as about 70. It was understood that he is Ojibwa and that both his parents were born and reared in the region. His wife, however, is an Ojibwa from Sioux Lookout.

John Joe is younger than Davey John. He and his wife live on the reserve, both are native to the area, and were recommended by many as

from Manitoulin where most of those to whom I talked claimed to be Ottawa. There was and still is a considerable amount of contact between the Indians of the two regions and so far as I could determine there is no sharp cultural difference between them.

I present these soundings with a great deal of hesitation. My time was so short and the Indians so scattered,—working at berry-picking, lumbering, and other tasks,—that it was impossible to check the information obtained to the extent I should have liked. Moreover acculturation is more advanced in this

being well informed on the old ways. Unfortunately but a single short interview could be arranged with them.

Charles Sinobert, who is 35 years old, lives near the reserve. He has traveled a good deal but is interested in the old Indian ways. He interpreted for the above informants.

Mrs. Burnett, nee Peltier, wife of the white storekeeper at Cutler, was born on Manitoulin and educated at the Catholic school there. She has a considerable amount of French blood but is interested in the Indians. She enjoys donning costume and participating in the "powows" at various cities in Ontario, to which the Indians are invited.

Albert Jacko is 23. He was born at Little Current, Manitoulin, but now lives at Spanish River. He has a considerable amount of white blood and was adopted by an Indian woman. He volunteered to give information. Both he and Mrs. Burnett speak English well.

Madeleine Baywa, about 75 years of age, was born on Cockburn Island, at the west end of Manitoulin. A widow, she lives alone near Cutler. She too volunteered to give information, and Mrs. Dominic Day interpreted for her.

On Manitoulin, Mrs. Josephine Wakegijig, a descendant of Chief Louis Wakegijig who led the Ottawas to Manitoulin from the States, interpreted for me when necessary. Her mother is an Irishwoman.

Mike Boyer, about 75 years old, is an Ojibwa from Michigan. His wife, Old Angeline, is from Manitoulin, where they now live with Mr. and Mrs. Jabokoan. Mrs. Cecile Jabokoan, about 30, speaks English but prefers the native language. She was born at Wikwemikong and all her people are from around the neighborhood. She seems much more old-fashioned in her ways than her neighbors and volunteered information.

Old Louise, about 75, lives at Wikwemikong on Manitoulin where, it was understood, she was born. All her folks too apparently were from around the same area.

Mrs. Jacko and her husband own the store at Wikwemikong. She is native to the area and, like Mrs. Burnett, attended the Catholic school there.

area, particularly on Manitoulin, than it is around James Bay. Another difficulty lies in the fact that practically all of the old folks, who would have been of greatest aid to me, have died within the last decade. Naturally the results of such a survey as I have made are only tentative, but, in spite of the many limitations, I have decided to offer them in the hope that they may suggest a lead or two at least toward clearing up cultural relationships within the general region.

Those aspects of North Shore culture which show similarity to the very simple Northern Algonquins of James Bay will be presented first. Then will follow those phases which contrast therewith. In both sections references to Parry Island Ojibwa culture² will be made.

The basic emphasis in the economy of the Ojibwa of the North Shore was upon hunting, and it is in the hunting complex, with its related beliefs and activities, that we find perhaps the greatest resemblance to the Northern Algonquian of the James Bay area. First of all there is an exact parallel in the type of land tenure. One informant (D. J.) remembers well that his father and the family used to spend the summer at Birch Lake which was a kind of headquarters for about eight families "all related to one another like brothers and brothers-in-law". In the fall each family would go to its hunting grounds nearby. His father's brother, who died at the advanced age of 106 only last spring, had the hunting ground right next to his father's. My informant has kept the same territory his father had had. It extends over three townships and he can still get beaver there. As he has no children, he does not know who will have the ground after him. The game warden, however, has promised that so long as the old man is able to hunt, he will not allow anyone else to go there. Game wardens have been appointed in this area for the past thirty years. In reply to my question as to whether, prior to this time the Indians could hunt any place they wished, he replied: "In those days they had wigwams; the reason they kept to one place was because they were ac-

² All information on Parry Island Ojibwa from D. Jenness, *The Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island, Their Social and Religious Life*, Natl. Mus. Canada, Bull. 78, Ottawa, 1935. The James Bay Cree and Montagnais data given in the present paper are, unless otherwise noted, from my own field notes.

customed to it. They could go elsewhere if they wished, because there was a lot of ground that wasn't taken up. But all along they had had their own grounds and never interfered with one another's trapping". A young man (C. S.) explained that a township is about six miles square. His understanding of the situation is that each family would have had about that much territory, "only of course it wasn't square". For instance, if there were a chain of lakes, two families might go there, but one family would take ten miles along one side and the other family would take a similar amount of ground on the other side.

Further evidence was obtained from an old man (W. T.) who was for many years an employee at the Hudson's Bay Company's former post on Lake LaCloche, near the eastern boundary of the present reserve on Spanish River. He stated that since it had been his duty to go around and collect fur from the Indians, he knew definitely that each one had his own place. He added that each Indian knew where every other Indian and his group hunted and that they would never interfere with one another. "It was just the same as it is on a farm today," he said, "anyone who might trespass could be shot. They used to kill one another for that in the old days."

Another element accompanying the ownership of family hunting territories is some method of conservation. I have it on the authority of several informants that the Ojibwa of the North Shore, like the Cree-Montagnais, always left some of the beaver to breed. Wasting of meat was forbidden by a supernatural sanction, although I could not get details on this last point. Then too the general cycle of activities was apparently similar to that among the Cree-Montagnais, with the exception that among the Ojibwa a good part of the spring was taken up with the making of maple sugar. A young man (C. S.) explained the meaning of Saigamok, a place on the Spanish River reserve, as a meeting place of many trails, "like Sudbury where many railroad lines meet". His grandfather had told him that it was the summer fishing place of about fifteen to twenty families. People would start coming in about May, remain until about August, and then return to their trapping grounds, although real trapping would not start until everything froze over. Some of

these people had come, traveling by canoe, from as far away as Sault Ste. Marie. Most of the families would not see the others again until they came together in the spring.

In these details then,—ownership, resentment of trespass, general cycle, and conservation of game, we see similarity to the Northern Algonquian. The allotment type of land tenure however is described by Jenness for the Parry Island Ojibwa.³ I could get no information on the aboriginal type of land tenure on Manitoulin Island.

As to hunting and fishing methods, the few details I recorded agree with methods known from the North. Among others might be mentioned the spear downfall for beaver⁴ and the use of small dogs in beaver hunting. I suspect that a fuller investigation of hunting methods would reveal many more similarities.

In the magico-religious beliefs connected with hunting there is a marked resemblance to those among the Cree and Montagnais. Close attention was paid to dreams⁵ in regard to hunting, and one man (J. J.) said that the dreams of a woman would be more accurate than those of her husband for finding bears in winter. Game was also located by means of scapulimancy. It may be added too that, as in the North, this latter method of divination, as well as scrying, was employed to find out the whereabouts of "enemies". Water, the looking glass, and mica were all mentioned as media for scrying. An old woman (Mrs. D. J.) told of an occasion upon which she witnessed an old man scrying by looking at mica. He told them that the *windigo*⁶ was not far from them but had not as yet located their party.

³ See Jenness, 3-4. For a full discussion of the hunting ground system as compared with the allotment system, see J. M. Cooper, "Is the Algonquian Family Hunting Ground System Pre-Columbian?", in AA, n.s. 41: 66-90, 1939.

⁴ For description and distribution see J. M. Cooper, Snares, Deadfalls, and Other Traps of the Northern Algonquians and Northern Athapaskans, CUA anth. ser. 5, 1938, pp. 109-113.

⁵ Knowledge obtained through dreams important among the Parry Island Ojibwa, but no mention of hunting dreams in particular. See Jenness, 47, 48.

⁶ Cannibal being, greatly feared over a wide area, including the Cree-Montagnais and the Parry Island Ojibwa. For the later, see Jenness, 40-41.

The former use of the bezoar and the foetal inclusion as hunting charms was volunteered by this same old woman, but as she came originally from the region of Sioux Lookout and as I was not able to check her information on this point, I am not sure that these were used in the immediate area under discussion. The Chippewa of Minnesota used the foetal inclusion of the rabbit as a charm to attract worldly goods,⁷ but apparently not for hunting.

The deference paid to game animals by the North Shore Ojibwa however suggests attitudes and beliefs among the Northern Algonquians. The importance assigned to the first game animal a boy killed is a case in point. To celebrate such an occasion the Indians would have a feast.⁸ Before eating, the old man would put tobacco on the fire and ask the "creator"⁹ to give the boy good luck in hunting from then on. Again, special attention was devoted to the first animal of each species killed at the beginning of each season. As one informant (W. T.) stated: "For any wild 'fruit', like beaver, deer, etc., they would make a feast for the first of the season".

The following account, volunteered by a woman (Mrs. B.), illustrates some of the beliefs and practices on the North Shore in regard to the beaver. She went off in the spring with an Indian family near Cutler. One day the man returned to camp bringing a beaver. The whole family, including the children, was very quiet and reverent while the man, rather than his wife, cooked the beaver. The man removed the meat and poured some of the broth in a freshly scoured pot. He then went outside, washed the entrails of the beaver very clean, and said: "These are the entrails. This is the medicine the little animal has given us and we must take it". The entrails he boiled for about 20 minutes in the clean pot containing some of the broth.

⁷ See F. Densmore, *Chippewa Customs*, BAE-B 86, Washington, 1929, 109.

⁸ This is a widespread Algonquian custom. For Parry Island, see Jenness, 94.

⁹ The native term used was *debandjigit*, translated "creator", but explained by informant thus: "They knew there was someone who gave them the gift to get animals". Baraga gives *debendjiget*, "lord, master, mistress, proprietor".

After they had finished dinner, he served the contents of this pot. Each person had to take some, even my informant, who did so reluctantly. She said it tasted bitter, but she had only to drink a cupful. He told them: "This will kill the worms, of which we all have quite a few". Later the family went off leaving my informant alone at the camp. The meat was in a bark bucket carefully covered. Having been told to help herself, she decided to fry some of the meat in egg and butter. Just as she finished cooking the old woman of the family came in and was scandalized when she saw the meat had been fried. She believed the beaver liked to be cooked only by being boiled. My informant said to her: "This beaver has no soul". To which the old woman replied: "Well, we believe it has and it will go and tell the others."¹⁰ My son will never kill another".

There was general agreement among my informants that beaver bones should be thrown in the water. Should the dogs get at them the Indians would not be able to catch more beaver.¹¹

From only one informant (J. B.), however, did I get the statement that the beaver tail, the greatest delicacy, was reserved for the men, as is the case among the James Bay Indians. Most of those from whom I enquired were not conscious of any taboo for women in eating certain parts of game animals, although one old woman (Mrs. D. J.) from Sioux Lookout said that women and young men never ate the heart of such animals.

In view of the widespread practices of bear ceremonialism it is not surprising that evidence of this too is found on the North Shore. The outstanding features of the observances in the immediate area correspond in most details with James Bay customs, although they are not so elaborate as those among the Montagnais. When the North Shore Ojibwa got to the entrance of the den he would throw in a bit of tobacco and say: "Smoke, grandfather". After a while he would invite the bear out¹²

¹⁰ The Parry Island Ojibwa have the same belief. See Jenness, 21-22.

¹¹ Same belief prevalent among Cree-Montagnais and Parry Island Ojibwa. For the latter, see Jenness, 24.

¹² On Parry Island they invite the bear to come out, put the skull in tree, bones in creek. There are also a few other details some of which are not mentioned for North Shore or known, so far as I am aware, among the Northern Algonquians. See Jenness, 24.

and kill it. He would then shake hands with the bear, always using the left hand,¹³ and greet him thus: "Bojó [evidently from the French *bon jour*], grandfather", and put a lighted pipe in the bear's mouth. If the bear should prove too big to carry home, they would skin it first and carry home one half, returning later for the other. The meat would be cut up and dried. There would be no special feast unless the bear should happen to be the first one a boy had killed, and it was said that no part of the bear was taboo to women, although of course a young girl in her first menses would not be given any kind of meat at all. The skull, with lower jaw tied upon it in proper articulation, was stuck on a tree in the bush; the other bones were thrown in the water; the lytta from the tongue was saved, to be buried in a clean place, with a bit of tobacco. All this was done so the bear would not be vexed.

In the spring thanksgiving ceremony, too, as recorded among the North Shore Ojibwa there are many points which suggest relationship with the Cree-Montagnais. The following accounts give the general outlines of the rite among the Ojibwa. The first (by D. J.) runs as follows: "They say that the Indians used to have a feast around the last of April or first of May, in the spring of the year, to thank the one above¹⁴ that they pulled

¹³ Use of left hand in connection with bear not characteristic of James Bay area and not mentioned for Parry Island. Is recorded for Temagami by F. G. Speck, "Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley", Canada Dept. of Mines, Memoir 70, anth. ser. 8, 1927, p. 27. Also mentioned by a North Shore informant (W.T.) who witnessed the following 30 miles north of Mississauga: "A native of that region after killing a bear and dressing it on the spot, brought the hind and fore paws back to camp. These he laid on a nice silk handkerchief, crossing the feet of each pair. In the center he placed a plug of tobacco and a bowl of sugar. After drumming and singing, he placed a bit of the tobacco on the fire and told us to eat the sugar. When we finished he told us to fill our pipes with this same tobacco but to use our left hands in doing so because the bear uses his left hand".

¹⁴ The native word used by my informant was *icpimingmanido* (*icpiming*, "up above", *manido*, "spirit"), and evidently refers to the pre-Christian concept of the Supreme Being. Quite independently a Catholic woman (Mrs. B.) said that before the Indians were Christians they knew for instance that the sun was God's work; that *kitciminido* (the word the

through the winter and to ask his help the coming year. It is spoken of as *sazagawitcigewikonge*¹⁵ *megwetciweat* (to make a feast at which a sacrifice is offered giving thanks). The feast was held in the ordinary wigwam, but they would clean up especially for this. Before feasting on beaver meat and maple sugar, which they would have just finished making, they would put up a 'flagpole' (*sazagawitcigenatik*). This was a tall pole, stripped of bark and striped alternately black and red. A cross piece would be placed about two-thirds of the way up and white feathers would be attached at the top. Each family would attach to the cross piece a bunch of ribbons and a little tobacco. Then the old man, the master of the feast, would drum and sing. If there was another old man who cared to sing, the drum would be passed to him. Because the drum was used at this feast, when partridges are heard 'drumming' in the spring, one says they are thanking for living through the winter. Then the master of the feast would serve. But before eating he would put tobacco on the fire and, while it burned, the men and old women smoked. They started the feast about twelve noon. All eat together from one fire and one pot, although each family would have contributed some meat and sugar. They take home with them whatever is left over."

The second account (from J. J.) differs somewhat in detail. "In my grandfather's time the Indians were not Christians. The pole was for their health, thanking for health in the past year and asking for it in the coming year. The one who directs

Catholic missionaries use for God) was called by the Indians *icpimingdajemanito* (*daje* meaning "place where"). So far as it goes, the above agrees well with the Northern Algonquian aboriginal usage. See J. M. Cooper, *The Northern Algonquian Supreme Being*, CUA anth. ser. 2,—the Supreme being (*Manitu*) was always thought of as being above (*icpimik*), pp. 6, and 38; and "Thanksgiving was made after the Manitu had granted food or health", p. 41. For Parry Island Ojibwa belief see Jenness, 29-30.

¹⁵ Rev. P. Jones, *The History of the Ojebway Indians*, (London, 1864), p. 97 referring to the Painted Pole Feast, *Sahsahgewejegun*, states that it signifies the spreading out to view the desires of the supplicants—a term still often used by the Christian Indians in making their wants known to God. He implies the offering at the feast was to the sun.

the feast is one who has received a gift for that during his period of fasting. It is according to the dream he receives at this time that the details regarding the spring feast are regulated. The chief of the feast is *sagima matuzuwid*.¹⁶ The one they thank is 'the one from whom we received the gift'. Many people would be invited. When all are assembled at sunrise, the *sagima* puts the tobacco in the fire and explains that what is being done is the gift he dreamed, and says he has to do this every spring as long as he lives. The head man at the feast provides everything. They have either bear or beaver meat. It is part of the gift to know which kind to use. The *sagima* would put the ribbons on the pole himself and after the feast raise the pole. My grandfather didn't use a drum nor did this feast call for dancing. The pole would be left until it rotted and fell".

The discrepancies in these accounts are probably to be explained by the fact that the details of carrying out the ceremony differ from individual to individual according to his dream experience. The differences from the James Bay pattern should be pointed out. On the North Shore only ribbons were attached to the pole,—no bear claws or other hunting trophies such as are attached thereto among the Cree-Montagnais. Moreover, among the Montagnais at least, the ceremony is directed more definitely toward thanksgiving for success in hunting, and among them too there is an elaboration of detail such as hanging out the caribou skins at sunrise, which does not appear in the brief accounts given above. Since there are no maple trees around James Bay, the use of maple sugar is absent from that region. In spite of these differences, however, the following elements stand out as being very similar: the spring feast is a thanksgiving to the Supreme Being; there is a special cleaning up before the ceremony; the pole with the cross-piece is erected; the old man drums and sings before the feast,—according to one account at least,—and the offering is put in the fire; there are

¹⁶ *Sagima* is given by Baraga as "an Indian not belonging to the Grand Medicine yet knowing well medicines". I am told by my colleague, Dr. J. E. Geary, that *mutuzuwid* is evidently a contracted form of *mandawisiwind* "he who has been endowed with miraculous power".

minor individual differences in the ceremony in accordance with dream experiences.

In addition to the above elements more or less closely connected with the hunting complex, there are some other phases of culture where similarities are apparent. The few upon which I obtained information, may be classified roughly as bearing on the life cycle.

Among the North Shore Ojibwa the navel cord of the infant was saved and sewed up in a nicely decorated little package. They believed, as do the James Bay Algonquians, that if this were not done the child would rummage into everything (M. B.). On Manitoulin, however, another reason for saving the cord was given, namely, in order to bury it so the child will be a good farmer.¹⁷ And they say further that if it is put in a trunk the child will rummage; if it is burned, the child will be prone to play with fire.

Again in connection with the child, the North Shore Ojibwa believe that an animal who approaches an infant "makes love to it".¹⁸ A male animal comes to a girl, and a female animal to a boy. One man (D. J.) suggested that if, for instance, a bird made love to a girl infant, she would eventually marry a man who had his "gift" from that particular kind of bird. Another interpretation was given by an old woman (M. B.) who said that if a woman abuses her child, the animal which makes love to it will come and take the child away, keeping it for as long as a year or two, until at last it will have pity on the poor mother who seeks continuously for her baby and return the child to her.

The threat of the bear as a bugaboo¹⁹ however is apparently as effective on the North Shore as it is all around James Bay. In the former area the whippoorwill, some kinds of big birds, and Nanabue, are used in addition to mention of the bear to frighten children into proper behavior.

¹⁷ Same for Parry Island, Jenness, 91.

¹⁸ Same custom reported for Temagami by Speck, loc. cit., 18, and interpreted as a minor individual totem. Custom is known among the Cree of James Bay, but not among the Montagnais.

¹⁹ See also Jenness, 95, bear's paw used.

Cradle charms are common to both regions.²⁰ The little net to prevent the child from catching cold was reported by one old woman (Mrs. D. J.). She also mentioned deer teeth and duck bones tied to the bow of the cradle. These are specific resemblances to cradle charms around James Bay. Several other kinds of objects such as bear teeth, clam shells and turtle bones were said to have been attached, and for a boy a miniature bow and arrow, although nothing special was added for a girl infant.

The custom of a child throwing his milk teeth over his shoulder to the east and not looking where they fall, is identical with the practice of children around the Bay,²¹ the idea being that the new teeth will grow faster and stronger if this is done.

In regard to seclusion at girl's first menses, the same customs prevailed on the North Shore as among the Cree-Montagnais. The following details²² are identical in the two areas; laying down of evergreen boughs over which the girl walked from the family dwelling to her own separate small tent; the cooking of food for herself in her own little pot, even for some time after she returns to the family; the taboo on giving her fresh meat of any kind; the use of the scratching stick; the belief that should a man approach the little tent something would happen to his legs and he would be unable to walk or to hunt. The girl's face was blackened with charcoal both among the Ojibwa and the Cree of the west coast of the Bay, but this custom did not extend, so far as I know, to the Montagnais of the east coast. Incidentally a man from the Spanish River reserve (C. S.) tells me he remembers well that girls there were so secluded.

Marriages on the North Shore used to be arranged by the parents. There was, so far as I could gather, no courtship, no bride price, nor exchange of presents. Moreover fear of sorcery often impelled the girl's parents to relinquish her to a man whom

²⁰ Each of the cradle charms given in text also mentioned for Parry Island with native interpretations, Jenness, 91.

²¹ See also Jenness, 94.

²² Practically all of these and some other details given for Parry Island, Jenness, 96-97.

they would never have selected of their own accord.²³ This is all just as it was formerly in the North. In regard to qualifications of mates, too, the same complaints of the older generation are heard on the North Shore and around James Bay, namely, that nowadays, since the young people of both sexes chum about together and make their own choices, good looks are counting for far more and ability in homemaking for far less than was the case in the old days. But in both regions, in spite of this modern tendency, a girl who has a reputation for being industrious and clever, has a fair chance of getting a good husband. One old woman (Mrs. D. J.) assured me she knew this last to be true because her sister, although actually deformed, had married well.

As a final note on resemblances between the North Shore and James Bay Algonquians the field of recreative culture might be mentioned, although I had difficulty in obtaining information on this phase. Cup-and-pin, remembered by one man as having consisted of ten bones strung on a leather thong with a leather flap containing ten holes, was one game in common. In the class of minor amusements might also be mentioned the muskrat-skull game and the buzzer, although this latter was apparently not employed to bring the North wind for hunting purposes, as is sometimes done among the Cree and Montagnais. My informants evidenced no knowledge of either platter or snowsnake and I recorded only a couple of vague references to games that might have been either hockey or lacrosse, although the woman's double ball game was remembered (cf. below p. 18). If, upon further investigation, it should turn out that in aboriginal times there was only a meager development of recreative life in this area, we would have another tie-up, although negative, with the Northern Algonquians.²⁴ That this may prove to be the case however is very dubious as the Parry Island Ojibwa knew the moccasin game, platter, bone, awl, and bunch of grass games as well as the woman's double ball game and lacrosse, and played these games exactly in the same way as the United States Ojibwa.²⁵

²³ See Jenness, 99.

²⁴ See R. Flannery, "Some Aspects of James Bay Recreative Culture", *Primitive Man*, 9: 49-56, 1936.

²⁵ See Jenness, 101.

Thus far we have indicated those aspects of North Shore Ojibwa culture which show similarity to those of the James Bay Algonquians. Let us now turn to those phases of North Shore culture which contrast therewith.

This contrast is most noticeable, I believe, in the curing complex, both in regard to medicine men and to beliefs and practices surrounding the use of medicines. First of all on the North Shore a distinction is made between different classes of medicine men, although the distinction is perhaps not so clear cut as on Parry Island;²⁶ whereas on James Bay there is no such differentiation of medicine men into several classes.

Among the Ojibwa with whom we are dealing, the medicine men are known as *wabano*, *djiskid*, and *mide*. The man or woman who possesses a supernatural gift for curing is called *wabano*. Some *wabanos* however might be more powerful than others. One man (D. J.) explained it thus: "A man might have the gift to cure headaches. He would be in the class of *wabano*. But those who have gifts for many things would be more powerful. Some might even have the gift to cure the *mide* curse". Moreover those who could find lost objects or tell where they were, and those who could control the weather were also *wabano*. To illustrate: "Some could look in water to find where someone was, others could just think about it,²⁷—put some tobacco on the fire and sing, and a spirit would come and tell them what they wanted to know" (W. T.). One woman (Mrs. D. J.) said: "If they can stop rain, they call that *wabano*." Again: "In the big lakes during the spring ice occasionally breaks away, as it did one time when a group was out fishing. A west wind was blowing the group out in the lake and they couldn't get to shore. There was a *wabano* among them who could change the wind. So he lighted his pipe and sang his *wabano* song. Just as he finished the wind changed and they went right back where they had been" (W. T.).

²⁶ See Jenness, 60.

²⁷ These formed a special class called *kusabindugeyu* on Parry Island, Jenness, 64.

The *wabanos* would have feasts once in a while, to which anyone who wished might go.²⁸ According to one man (W. T.): "The head *wabano* (*naganzitwabano*, 'he that is foremost, superior, master') would have a drum on which the sun and moon were painted. The feast would consist of corn and whatever kind of meat they had. They would sing and dance before they ate, for health, like we now go to Church to ask for health. They would burn tobacco. The head *wabano* would have a carved stick about two feet long to the end of which were attached six streamers of six different colors 'like a flag'. This he carried in his hand as he led the dancers."²⁹ After the dance they had the feast in which all joined, even those who had not participated in the dancing. When they had such a dance and feast the *wabanos* would paint their faces with a red stone (*onamun*), which used to be obtained around here. Each *wabano* would apply it differently,—some on forehead, some on lips or chin, some on cheeks, some across nose". This same informant explained the use of this red paint by *wabanos* thus: "I suppose you have seen the sun come up red in the morning? That is why they call these people *wabano*³⁰ and that is why they paint their faces with that red stuff".

The medicine man who uses the conjuring lodge is called *djiskid*. While the fundamental concept of the shaking tent is

²⁸ This apparently corresponds to the ordinary feasts given from fees by Parry Island *wabano*, see Jenness 62-63. My informant (W. T.) mentioned the special *wabano* feasts when explaining the difference between the tambourine (*wabanotewehigan*) and water drum (*abouinkik*). He said the latter was used for special feasts when a *wabano* had gotten a special kind of medicine. Another informant (C. S.) explained that in "handing down a gift for curing", the owner would teach another person, who had experienced the proper kind of dream, where to get and how to mix the ingredients. The recipient would then be required to give within a year a feast of some magnitude to show that the "spirit" of the medicine had been transferred to him along with the secular knowledge. (Cf. Jenness, 62).

²⁹ Another informant (Mrs. D. J.) knew nothing of the carved stick but stated that "the head *wabano* would play the drum and sing and dance around the fire with the others following after him in a long line". This corresponds more closely to Parry Island custom. See Jenness, 63.

³⁰ A slightly different native interpretation from the two given for Parry Island by Jenness, 62.

common to both North Shore Ojibwa and James Bay Cree-Montagnais,³¹ there are some differences in details to be noted. On the North Shore the conjuring lodge sometimes has four, sometimes more, uprights of different kinds of wood, and three hoops, although one old woman (M. B.) whose uncle was a *djiskid* and had cured her three times, reported that she had seen conjuring lodges with as many as four and even five hoops. In the old days the cover was of birchbark and the lodge was left open at the top. *Miceke* (turtle) is the chief spirit in the tent. He is said to talk just as the Indians do and they can understand him. *Miceke* is responsible for getting the other spirits into the tent,—such for example as Thunder,³² *Cingabisin*, various animals and insects,—but while these spirits are heard, the Indians cannot understand what they say and *Miceke* “interprets” for them. Incidentally too the Indians believe that *Miceke* brings in the spirits of Indians, even of Christians, but that he is unable to bring in the spirits of white men. It is the whirlwind however that causes the tent to shake. “Those [conjuring lodges] that don’t move so much don’t have the full strength” (W. T.).

The ability to become a *djiskid* was said to be acquired as a “gift” during the puberty fast. Two informants (D. J. and C. S.) mentioned that such a gift was bestowed only on the “clean of heart”, apparently meaning those who would not abuse it. Before a man can practice he must prove his ability. A story was told of one man about whose ability there was some doubt. He proved himself however by going into his conjuring lodge and having *Miceke* bring in some fresh berries, which were not blue berries but tasted something like them, although the performance took place in the dead of winter.

So far as I know, there is only one man in the area at present who professes to be a *djiskid*, although references were made to

³¹ For description of Montagnais shaking tent, see R. Flannery, “The Shaking-Tent Rite among the Montagnais of James Bay”, *Primitive Man* 12: 11-15, 1939. The details of the North Shore conjuror’s lodge are more similar to those of the Parry Island Ojibwa, see Jenness 65-68.

³² Thunder on the North Shore is not the Thunderbird, but man-like thunderers (*nimki’*). Both are mentioned for Parry Island, Jenness 32, 35, 37.

at least two others who have died within the last decade. This *djiskid* lives among a group of non-Christians in the Spanish River area at Saigamok and is patronized by Indians from all over the region. Just as on Parry Island³³ the Indians of Manitoulin and the North Shore are terrified lest an enemy bewitch them, and practically every mention of a *djiskid* was in connection with his ability to locate, through the shaking tent, the sorcerer responsible for making someone ill, and the successful removal by him of the "poison". The following account volunteered by a young man (A. J.) regarding his own cure will perhaps suffice as an illustration.

When A. was about seven years old he was living with his adoptive mother at Little Current on Manitoulin. In the fall of the year he developed a pain in his groin. The doctors at the hospital didn't know what was wrong. The pain kept getting worse and finally in about two weeks A. couldn't walk. Someone suggested that they try an Indian medicine man at Saigamok. Incidentally this man died about nine years ago. A man who was crippled decided to go along and see if he could get cured at the same time. So the two of them were taken to the medicine man. They brought with them two bottles of whiskey, two silk shirts, and some tobacco which they gave him. The other Indians made up the conjuring tent in the house and the *djiskid* went into it. They heard him singing in there and then all at once the tent began to shake. A. was frightened but was unable to crawl away. He couldn't hear everything that went on, but he did hear someone ask: "Why are you giving this boy sickness?" The voice of an old woman replied: "Because I am jealous of that woman who has him".³⁴ After some more "magician work" the medicine man found out that the crippled Indian had gotten his disease from an altogether different woman,

³³ For fear of witchcraft on Parry Island see Jenness, 68, 87.

³⁴ A's adoptive mother was present when A. told me the story. She explained that the very woman, whose voice they recognized, had met her and A. one day and asked: "Who is that boy?" To which she replied: "This is my adopted boy". The old woman watched the boy closely the whole time they were talking and continued to watch him as they went away from her. It was only a couple of days afterward that A. felt the pain.

whose voice admitted she was jealous of this man because he was a good worker. After a while the women were asked in turn if they would ever do things like that again. Each promised not to. When the *djiskid* came out of the tent he extracted from A. a small chunk of wire, which he showed them on a saucer. From the crippled man he extracted a little piece of hair which he said had been tied around this man's big toe. They stayed in the medicine man's house all night. Next day A. was able to get up and walk around as well as ever.

In the native mind there is a decided contrast between the *wabano* and *djiskid* on the one hand and the *mide* on the other. I did not get a very clear picture of the functions of the *mide*. One informant (D. J.) stated that "the *mide* could be good or bad. They could cure the ones that had the same gift as they themselves had. They could cure providing you gave them something. *Mide* and *wabano* were friends, just the same, and the only time they harm each other is when they are mad with each other. Of two brothers, one might be a *wabano* and the other a *mide*, and they would not harm one another. They say that very seldom could a *mide* do harm to a *wabano*—the *wabano* has the more powerful gift". I was told by another informant (W. T.): "*Midewidjik* are the ones who curse the others. They curse the people who offend them. There are some like that around here now who know they have this gift for cursing people". It may be that the situation is comparable to that described for Parry Island where the *midewiwin*, although it was practised, never really took hold and was not understood by non-members.³⁵ At any rate, some at least of the North Shore Indians are under the impression that all *mide* are or were evil. It was stated that they had their feasts, just as did the *wabanos*, but only certain ones were invited to join therein (Mrs. D. J.), and the participants were believed to consume only whiskey at such a feast (W. T.).

It is just possible that the following may refer to the *midewiwin*. It was told by an old woman (M. B.) who remembered only these few details of a dance she had seen as a child. "When

³⁵ Those not of the *Midewiwin* believed the *medé* was above all else a sorcerer, Jenness, 40.

the Indians danced they used to hang over their arms a fox, or otter, or martin skin, each skin containing in its head medicine obtained from where the thunder strikes.³⁶ If any of the children or anyone at all would take a stick and poke at the animal skin when the people were dancing, the skin would get mad and fall off to the dancer's arm to the ground. If it should touch the ground the person who had done the 'teasing' would die. Sometimes they didn't allow the children around when they danced like this. I remember my aunts, who were pagans, danced like that with other Indians". When asked what they called this dancing, she said after some hesitation that she thought it might have been called *cawunogaiwuk* (south dance).

We now come to the second aspect of the curing complex, the beliefs and practices in connection with medicines. The North Shore Indians not only have more magical practices in connection with medicines and use their medicines for a greater variety of purposes than is customary among the Cree-Montagnais, but they also buy and sell them, as do the Parry Island and other Ojibwa. A few of the simple medicines are common knowledge. The bulk of the prescriptions however are the property of certain individuals, and the recipes, as well as the actual medicines derived therefrom, are bought and sold. The owner of a recipe may teach without payment one of his or her children all details of gathering herbs and roots for the particular remedy, and the preparation thereof. Or the owner may sell this knowledge outright. One old woman on Manitoulin (O. L.) learned all the medicine she knows from her grandmother and it has proved a substantial source of income for her. The old

³⁶ She gave the following explanation regarding this medicine. Long ago thunder would strike wherever the Big Snake was. When the Indians got to the place the Snake wouldn't be there, but they could see a mark where it had been. They would spread out a rush mat and after having a feast leave all kinds of things like pipes, tobacco, drygoods and whiskey there. Where the snake had been there was medicine for the Indians which they could pick up. As they would take a bit of it they would say what the medicine would be good for—for sickness, for hunting, etc. This medicine could be used to kill people by putting some of it on a war club and throwing the club toward the victim, without actually hitting him. He would soon die or at least get very sick.

woman is giving up now because people don't have much confidence in old folks, whose eyesight has become dim and who thus might make a mistake in the ingredients. So she has taught her son much of what she knows and he is already selling quite a bit of medicine. To her great disappointment, neither of her two daughters has shown any interest in learning.

Most of the medicines are compounds of several ingredients, and many of the supposedly most effective have as many as ten or twelve different components. The medicine cannot be given away. It must be paid for or it would not be effective. It is thought too that a bit of tobacco must accompany the payment if the medicine is to have its best effect. Moreover when the owner of the recipe went to gather the plants requisite therefor, it was obligatory that he either bury a bit of tobacco at the spot from which the plant was taken³⁷ or pour a bit of whiskey there. It was also emphasized that medicines were better boiled over a fire made outside of the house where it was "clean". If medicine were prepared upon a stove or over a fireplace which had been used by a woman in her menses, the medicine would be no good. Again, when using powdered medicine, one can tell beforehand whether or not it will be effective. One sprinkles a bit of the medicine upon a little water in a saucer. If it spreads immediately over the surface of the water, the person under treatment will be cured; if it sinks in a lump, the patient will not get better.³⁸

Sweating is known as a remedy in the North as well as among the Ojibwa. But on the North Shore a prepared medicine is used in conjunction with the sweating,—a feature not characteristic, so far as I know, of the Northern Algonquian. For example, to cure a headache, one takes about a spoonful of crushed herb medicine, places it on a red hot stone, covers the head with a blanket while bending over the stone, and inhales the smoke; after the medicine is all burned, a little water is put on the stone to make steam and sweat the head. The regular sweat-lodge, too, was described, but I did not get details on its use.

³⁷ Same custom among the Parry Island Ojibwa, Jenness, 21.

³⁸ Exactly same interpretation among Parry Island Ojibwa, Jenness, 82.

In addition to the herbal remedies for sickness, there were a number of medicines similarly concocted, which were used for other purposes. For example, in connection with hunting, there is a special kind of medicine called *n'dosinan* ("seeking food") which, when applied to the face, makes hunting easier.³⁹ Another kind of hunting medicine, *pitcicagwewuck* ("medicine to be stuck on or prodded in"), was applied to a small sharpened stick. The stick would then be jabbed into the track of the animal hunted with the supposed effect of "stopping the animal."

A medicine apparently somewhat similar to this last was used against opponents in footraces. It would be put in the track of opponents "so their legs wouldn't work". It may be mentioned incidentally that while prizes were said to have been given to winners of footraces, I could get no information on gambling in connection with any game. For instance it was emphasized in connection with the woman's double ball game that there were no prizes. It was played for health,⁴⁰—one informant (W. T.) said "for the woman's part I suppose".

Again, medicines were used before and after childbirth. The following account was obtained from a young man (A. J.) whose first child was born last year on May 27th. A month before it was born, an old woman of about fifty-five, came to the cabin and asked him if he would buy medicine for his wife. He paid a dollar for the medicine, which was composed of seven kinds of roots. His wife boiled it and drank a cupful of the liquid every day for about a month. Then a week before the birth of the baby the old woman came again and brought a different kind of medicine, likewise composed of seven different roots. This was to be taken by his wife so she wouldn't have much pain in childbirth. When the child was born the labor lasted only

³⁹ For similar medicine see Jenness, 83.

⁴⁰ The game was described as played in connection with a feast *puskowewikundewin* (*puskove*, name of game; *wikundewin*, feast). The sticks were about four feet long and charred at one end; the double ball was made by tying two small bags at each end of a short piece of thong. The two goals were always east and west. Only four women played at a time, two on each side, then four others replaced them. The players had ribbons in their hair, and they all dressed in their best clothes, but did not paint their faces for this feast as they did for the *wabano* feast. (W. T.).

half an hour. The old woman stayed in the cabin for a while after the baby came but didn't charge for that. She did, however, recommend another woman as having a medicine helpful after childbirth. So he obtained this medicine, too, for which he paid one dollar. His wife took about a cupful a day for three weeks, never had any pains, and was able to nurse the baby without any difficulty.

Finally, another sort of medicine was described as a kind of "lucky" medicine. It was of value in commercial transactions.⁴¹ If a person wants to buy something, with which the owner does not wish to part, the prospective purchaser will take some of this medicine with him and the owner will then have to sell the object to him.

There now follow some other points of contrast with the Cree-Montagnais, not connected with the curing complex. First may be mentioned horticulture. One informant (D. J.) insisted that the Indians of the North Shore had always had corn,⁴² although in the old days they never planted beans with it. His father, he said, planted half an acre of corn and that was enough to do the family for the whole year. The mortar (*pohtagan*) and pestle (*pohtaganatik*) were evidently of the Iroquois type. The pestle was described as being about five feet long and of dumbbell shape.

Another contrast is in attitudes and beliefs connected with death. The North Shore Indians, differing from the Cree-Montagnais, believed that for ten days after a person dies, his soul used to come back and the Indians would put food for it on the fire.⁴³ It was said too that the entrance to the shelter, which normally faced the east, would be changed to face the west for a similar period of ten days when anyone in the wig-

⁴¹ Somewhat similar to the medicine which made people give you presents or buy whatever you offer, described by Jenness, 84.

⁴² Maize was cultivated in small quantities on all the islands of North Shore of Lake Huron (Manitoulin, etc.), according to A. Henry, *Travels . . . Between the years 1760 and 1776*, repr. Boston, 1901, p. 36. Cultivation of maize on Parry Island ascribed to Ottawa by Jenness, 10.

⁴³ Some Parry Island Ojibwa say they provide the soul with food for four nights, Jenness, 105.

wam died. All souls went to the west (*epungicimuk*). Some, however, who failed to cross a dangerous place on the way, never got as far as others and had to stay where they had a difficult time. Anyone who had laid out a corpse would not touch a child for ten days lest he "spoil the child's bones". To kill the "poison" he would wash his hands in water containing cedar sprigs. One informant said that the period of mourning was a year or whatever longer time the individual may set for himself. The Indians are very careful not to offend anyone who is in mourning because they formerly believed such a one has power to curse the offender, and even today they are very respectful toward anyone who has lost his relatives.

The sib is absent from the Cree-Montagnais but is known among the Indians of the North Shore and of Manitoulin.⁴⁴ It is patrilineal and one hears those who consider themselves to have the same *dodem* greet each other thus: "*Bojó, dodem*". Sib exogamy has, however, broken down completely, so far as I could gather, and no one whom I questioned seemed aware of any prohibition against marriage within the sib, providing the parties were not close blood relatives. I was not successful in getting definitive information on cross-cousin marriage. The Indians of mixed French ancestry on the father's side claim to belong to the *pakakwen* (hen) *dodem*. Other sib names mentioned are: pike, bear, loon, owl, deer, pig, sturgeon, rattlesnake. There is at present evidently some confusion, as the word "*dodem*" is used for sib as well as for personal guardian spirit. For example, a few incidents were told me while we were talking of sibs, which evidently relate to guardian spirits. In these stories porcupine, lightning and a very young robin were spoken of as "*dodem*". Regarding the last mentioned, my informant's father told her (C. J.) that his mother one day, while still able to work, suddenly felt sick at the stomach. She vomited up a tiny, newly-hatched robin, and they told her that this was her *dodem* and that it had now left her. She hadn't been sick prior to this experience and lived for a long time thereafter.

⁴⁴ For sib among Parry Island Ojibwa see Jenness, 7-9.

Another point on which the North Shore Indians differ from the James Bay Algonquians is that girls as well as boys fasted in order to obtain a "gift".⁴⁵ One informant (Mrs. B.) stated that the Indians told the children they would dream. The old people would go each morning during the child's fasting period to ask what the child had dreamed about. If nothing came of the dreams during the first ten-day period, the child would have to fast another ten days until he or she would have the right gift.⁴⁶ If a girl fasts and dreams about a "fairy", she will be a doctor (*muckikiwininkwe*, "medicine woman").

As a final point of contrast between the two regions might be mentioned bravado cannibalism. The only reference I obtained to this is from a story of the wars between the Ojibwa and some Indian enemies in which the informant's grandfather participated. My informant (W. T.) calculated that the incident took place about 1810. The Ojibwa had killed a number of the enemy and in the evening they had a contest to find out which of the men would be brave enough to eat the roasted flesh of the enemy. Some were able to eat it; others however chewed a bit of the flesh but just couldn't swallow it. Such a contest would be quite unthinkable among the Northern Algonquian.

In the first part of the present paper we dealt with the traits which the North Shore Indians have in common with the Algonquian of the James Bay region. The Parry Island Ojibwa share as well in the following of these traits: resentment at trespass on hunting grounds, use of beaver dogs in hunting, the windigo, disposal of bones of game animals, many elements of bear ceremonialism, emphasis on first fruits, animal soul which will tell others of indignities, belief in a Supreme Being, navel cord saved, little net and some other cradle charms, bear bugaboo, disposal of milk teeth, practically all details of girls' separation at first menses, cup and pin game, tambourine drum, and the

⁴⁵ Among Parry Island Ojibwa girls required guidance from the supernatural world no less than boys, and their experience resembled that of their brothers, Jenness, 50 and 96.

⁴⁶ Tradition that one time a boy was fasted too long turned into a partridge, both North Shore and Parry Island Ojibwa. For latter see Jenness, 49.

underlying concept of the shaking tent although details differ. The only traits, so far as our records go, shared by the North Shore Ojibwa and the Algonquian of James Bay, which are not mentioned for the Parry Island Ojibwa are: permanent family ownership of hunting grounds, method of conservation, the spring feast with erection of pole, and several minor traits such as scapulimancy, spear downfall, lytta of bear saved, and animal "making love" to child. Practically all of the above-mentioned traits are basic to the Northern Algonquian culture. A few however which extend only to the Cree and are lacking from the east coast Montagnais probably represent Ojibwa influence on the Cree. These are: animal "making love" to child, lack of feast for bear, lack of taboo to women on eating parts of bear, and some features of recreative culture such as the woman's double ball game.

In the second part of the paper were described the traits in which the North Shore Indians differ from the Northern Algonquian. Here, too, however, the North Shore and Parry Island groups show marked similarity. Both the latter have the following in common: several classes of medicine men with their varied functions, some details of shaking tent, most of the beliefs and practices in regard to medicine, maize culture, some beliefs concerning the dead, sib organization, girls' fast to obtain gift, water drum, thunderers.

In conclusion then the North Shore and Parry Island Indians resemble each other culturally more closely than either of them resembles the James Bay Algonquian. On the other hand the North Shore and Parry Island cultures, both to about equal degree, share a number of basic and diagnostic traits with the James Bay Algonquian. All in all the North Shore culture appears to be, so far as our meager and incomplete data reveal, a typical Ojibwa culture with such affinities with and divergences from the somewhat simpler James Bay culture as occur in typical Ojibwa culture.

NOTES ON THE PREPARATION OF FOOD IN BUGANDA

MOTHER M. ANNA, O.S.F.

Kampala, Uganda, British East Africa

THE following notes refer to food preparation only in the province of Buganda. In the other provinces of Uganda, where more grain is eaten, the preparation of food is correspondingly different.

Great care is taken in the preparation of food. All the cultivation, harvesting, preparation, and cooking of food is done by women and girls. From her earliest years the girl is taught the correct way to hoe, to prune, to weed, to rotate the crops, to peel, and to prepare the food.

The chief food in the province of Buganda is *matoke*, bananas picked green and cooked. This is supplemented by meat (chicken, goat, cow, lamb), fish of various kinds, *binyewebwa* (ground nuts), tomatoes, a spinach-like plant that grows wild, marrow, sem-sem seeds, *lumonde* (potatoes), cassava, and white ants. Oranges and papaws are the most common fruits.

To prepare a meal of *matoke*, a woman must start out early in the morning, to cut an *enkotta* (bunch) of bananas from one of her trees in her *lusuku* (bananery). Before starting to peel the bananas, she washes her hands carefully. In fact, at every stage of food preparation the utmost cleanliness is observed. If there is no water at hand, she cuts through the outer layer of a banana-tree trunk and takes out a piece of the spongy substance inside which is filled with a sweet, clean liquid that will take away all stains. Next, several large banana leaves cut from the tree are spread on the ground for the clean peeled bananas to be placed upon. The peeled bananas may be put in pails or clay pots lined with leaves. The bananas are peeled, lengthwise of course, but from bottom to top, that is, from the end opposite the stalk end.

A pot, formerly of clay but now of iron, is filled one-third with water, and pieces cut from the spongy midrib of the banana leaf are twisted and placed in the bottom of the pot as a "padding". On top of the water and padding is spread a large,

smooth banana leaf. On this sort of shelf is placed the leaf-wrapped bundle of peeled bananas. Two strips of dry fibre (*ebiai*) from the outside trunk of a banana tree are tied around the bundle, crossing each other at right angles, so that the bundle, after the bananas are cooked, can be lifted out easily, without burning the hands with the steaming leaf-wrapping.

The fire under the pot is made with long sticks. As the sticks burn at one end they are pushed farther into the fire.

Vegetables, meats, fish, nuts, or whatever may be prepared for cooking, are made into small packets, lovely little parcels of satiny green leaves tied neatly with fibre, and are steamed in the same pot with the *matoke*.

It takes about an hour and a quarter to cook enough food for forty people. The family pots are huge, and the amount of food consumed by one individual is appalling! Even small tots will demolish an overflowing plate, and come back for more.

When the food is cooked, the whole thing in its steaming leaves is lifted out of the pot by the free ends of the two encircling fibre strips, and put into a *kibo* (shallow basket). A woman sits beside the food and kneads it, through the leaves, for some time. This is to make it more appetizing,—“golden food” they call it, and properly cooked *matoke* is actually a golden yellow.

It is then put back in the pot on the fire for about ten minutes. When finally done, it is taken off, and the food is served on fresh banana leaves spread on the ground. No hand touches the food during the serving, small pieces of banana leaf being used to handle it. No one ever sits down to eat without first washing his hands, and he always does the same after he has finished eating. The fingers, of course, are used for eating, although knives, forks, and spoons are now in use among the more educated Baganda.

With this *matoke*, a kind of soup, made from ground nuts, is generally used. These are pounded up, in a mortar (*ekimu*) made from a hollowed-out tree, with a stout branch (*omusekuzo*) as a pestle. *Chiriko*, certain hard round beans with a delicious nutty flavor, are also pounded up and mixed with water, and are poured over the bananas. By varying the amount of water,

either a very fluid sauce or a peanut butter is made from the ground nuts. Pounded sem-sem seeds are also used in vegetables.

Mugoye is another very tasty dish, made of potatoes mixed with beans or nuts, and mashed up so that neither is recognizable. *Katogo* is a dish made of bananas and beans mashed together.

A very interesting dish is made from eggs and a native spinach-like vegetable called *sunsa*. The *sunsa* is cut into small pieces and rolled in the hands. An egg is beaten up in a clay bowl. Into a bundle, made of banana leaf dried in the sun and twice folded, the cut-up *sunsa* and the beaten egg are put, and the leaf bundle is gathered up like a bag and tied with fibre, and then put in the pot with the *matoke*. A small piece of banana leaf from the piece from which the bag was made *must* be put in the mixture, a native told me, otherwise the egg will not mix properly with the *sunsa*.

White ants are eaten either alive or cooked. When eaten alive, the two wings are firmly grasped and the body is popped into the mouth. One often sees a rush of children to an anthill when the ants fly at mating time, and the youngsters just stuff themselves. An interesting method of catching ants is to go out at night with lanterns, when the light attracts the ants out of their homes by thousands.

When the ants are to be cooked, they are put into the pot alive, cooked, taken out, put into a leaf bundle, and then cooked again with the *matoke*. When ready, they are either served whole,—in great quantities, of course,—or else are dried in the sun and then pounded and mixed with salt or butter. They are also at times mixed with a vegetable, or made into a soup with water. They are really very delicious!

Mushrooms are considered a great delicacy. They are cooked with very appetizing meat and nut sauces.

Meat is generally steamed in little bundles, as above described, but is sometimes roasted over the fire on long sticks. Small fish are also cooked in this latter manner, and one sees them being sold in the native markets,—burnt black, as the natives like them.

There is great honor attached to the work of cooking, and a girl who can cook well and who knows the old Kiganda recipes is decidedly in demand.



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